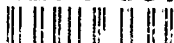


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THE ROLE OF THE INTER-AMERICAN DEFENSE BOARD WITHIN THE NEW WORLD ORDER

BY

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19. ABSTRACT.

The Inter-American Defense Board was founded fifty years ago in response to an external threat during World War II. During that time attempts were made by the Board to achieve a more significant operational role and to institutionalize itself within the Organization of American States. These attempts were consistently resisted by the Latin American nations because of the historic opposition to a militarized Organization of American States and fear of U.S. intervention. The Cold War has ended and prospects for more regional cooperation look bright. Latin American governments are changing and for the first time, the entire Western Hemisphere with the exception of Cuba and Haiti have democratic governments. The current political, military and economic environment in Latin America is now more conducive to regional cooperation than in the past because Latin American nations are beginning to look at the U.S. as less of a threat to their sovereignty. The trend towards democracy and a more pragmatic approach towards economic and social issues in Latin America have created new opportunities for the Inter-American Defense Board. This paper shows that the Board has a role to play in facilitating security cooperation and economic development and is reorienting its thinking and activities to tackle the new threats and problems in the hemisphere.

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THE ROLE OF THE INTER-AMERICAN DEFENSE BOARD WITHIN THE NEW WORLD ORDER

AN INDIVIDUAL STUDY PROJECT

by

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ABSTRACT

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The Inter-American Defense Board was founded fifty years ago in response to an external threat during World War II. During that time attempts were made by the Board to achieve a more significant operational role and to institutionalize itself within the Organization of American States. These attempts were consistently resisted by the Latin American nations because of the historic opposition to a militarized Organization of American States and fear of U.S. intervention. The Cold War has ended and prospects for more regional cooperation look bright. Latin American governments are changing and for the first time, the entire Western Hemisphere with the exception of Cuba and Haiti have democratic governments. The current political, military and economic environment in Latin America is now more conducive to regional cooperation than in the past because Latin American nations are beginning to look at the U.S. as less of a threat to their sovereignty. The trend towards democracy and a more pragmatic approach towards economic and social issues in Latin America have created new opportunities for the Inter-American Defense Board. This paper shows that the Board has a role to play in facilitating security cooperation and economic development and is reorienting its thinking and activities to tackle the new threats and problems in the hemisphere.

INTRODUCTION

The Cold War has ended and the prospects for improving international relations look bright. In the international arena, unprecedented events and trends have created an environment for change and optimism. Recent changes, like the rapid unification of Germany, the collapse of communist regimes in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe, the apparent fall of the Sandinista regime in Nicaragua, and the peace agreement in El Salvador offer hope for a new world order in which international law, cooperation among states and international organizations will all play a larger part than ever before.

Although the likelihood of global war has radically decreased, regional economic, political and military problems still exist. More countries are acquiring advanced military systems, many of which will be available in the world arms market as a result the breakup of the Soviet Union. Enormous quantities of

conventional arms are being sold all over the world, regardless of the consequences their sale may have on the political or security situation. The means of mass destruction are becoming more widely available than at any previous time. Many problems that the world faces transcend national boundaries and cultures. Among these are economic and environmental problems, terrorism and drugs. International and regional institutions can deal with these problems more efficiently and effectively than individual nations acting unilaterally.

Latin American governments also are changing, and for the first time, the entire Western Hemisphere is on the verge of becoming democratic. With the exception of Cuba and Haiti, elected civilians have replaced all the military rulers. Yet democracy in Latin America is still tenuous and the region is far from stable. Even where insurgents do not threaten, democratic rule is often challenged by armed forces that are not effectively subordinated to civilian control and new tensions could arise because of the fast changing political environment.

In a world where governments are under pressure to minimize their use of unilateral force and increase their reliance on negotiations, there is a growing need for international and regional organizations. Although the United Nations (UN) must be the lead organization, regional organizations, like the Organization of American States (OAS) and the Inter-American Defense Board (IADB), can contribute to the protection of common interests and assist in economic development and disaster relief in the region.

The IADB is part of the Inter-American System and was created in 1942 in response to the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor. The mission of the Board has

been limited to planning for defense against aggression from outside the continent. In the past, attempts were made by the Board to achieve a more significant operational role and to institutionalize itself within the OAS, but they were consistently resisted by the OAS due to the historic opposition to the militarization of the OAS and fear of U.S. intervention. After fifty years, the IADB is now in a state of transition and is reorienting its thinking and activities to tackle the new threats and problems in the hemisphere.

This paper shows that the Inter-American Defense Board, if properly utilized, can contribute to security and stability in Latin America in today's changing world. It reviews how the current political, military and economic environment in Latin America is more conducive to regional cooperation than in the past and examines how the IADB fits into the Inter-American System. The paper considers past and current roles of the IADB and recommends some new roles for the future.

CURRENT SITUATION IN LATIN AMERICA

Latin America faces enormous social, economic and political problems. These problems will not go away without assistance. This section discusses the current political, military and economic situation in Latin America and considers whether Latin America is currently more receptive than in previous years to using organizations like the OAS and IADB to help solve regional problems.

POLITICAL SITUATION

During the 1980s, military governments were replaced by democracies in Argentina, Brazil, Chile and in several other countries. With the exception of Cuba and Haiti, elected governments now rule throughout the region and democratic institutions seem to be taking root. In the final months of the decade, Brazil held its first direct presidential elections since 1960 and Chile its first since 1970. Nicaragua's elections in February 1990 were the most open and competitive in that country's history.¹ Even in countries where elections have remained flawed, important democratic gains have been registered. After several failed attempts to hold free elections in Haiti following the downfall of Duvalier, an internationally supervised presidential vote finally took place in December 1990. Unfortunately, a coup took place in September 1991 and the military is back in power.

El Salvador's government and guerrilla armies have agreed to end the 12 year civil war and on 16 January 1992 a peace agreement was signed between the freely elected Cristiani government and the rebel Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front (FMLM). Officials in the region hailed the agreement as the symbol of a new future for Central America after more than a decade as a battleground in the East-West struggle for influence.² Even Castro looks like he is softening up. During a conference to discuss the Cuban Missile Crisis in January 1992 in Havana, Castro stated that Cuba is not conducting subversive activity today and that he would not take advantage of the social and economic instability in the region by supporting revolutionary movements in the future.³

Latin Americans are more optimistic about the future. The region is no longer a battle ground between East and West because of the break up of the Soviet Union, and President Bush is taking a pragmatic approach to regional problems. Bush encouraged democratic elections in Nicaragua that defeated the Sandinistas, and he supported a diplomatic settlement in El Salvador. The Bush administration also helped support free elections in Haiti in December 1990.⁴

Conditions for democracy today in Latin America are more favorable than in the past. However, vigorous and consolidated democratic rule remains elusive because much of Latin America is still characterized by fragile democracies that can be threatened by drug traffickers, terrorists and disgruntled militaries.

MILITARY SITUATION

Throughout Latin American history, civilian and military leaders have not trusted one another. Civilian leaders have historically viewed the military as uneducated brutes who only understood the use of force. In turn, the military leaders have seen civilian politicians as incompetent. Military takeovers of countries in Latin America have often been motivated by a perceived need to save their nations from weak and undisciplined civilian leadership.

Civil-military relations vary considerably from country to country in Latin America. Constitutional democracy requires that all military forces be subordinate to elected civilian authorities. Today, only a handful of Latin American countries, including Costa Rica, Mexico and Venezuela, fully meet that basic condition. In

Guatemala and El Salvador, the military influences most aspects of government policy. This may change in El Salvador because of the peace agreement. According to the agreement, government armed forces will be cut in half, and corrupt and abusive officers will be prosecuted. The armed forces of Bolivia, Ecuador, Honduras, Nicaragua and Peru retain so much institutional autonomy that they are at best superficially subordinate to civilian officials.⁵ In Haiti, military rule is still alive. Chile's former dictator Augusto Pinochet still commands the army and cannot be legally removed by Chile's elected president. Although civilian governments of both Uruguay and Chile are asserting greater authority over their armed forces, the military's influence on policy remains strong in both nations.⁶

Lasting changes in civil-military relations will require basic shifts in the attitudes of both military men and civilian leaders. Latin American civilians and military must trust each other and learn to work together. If this does not happen, the future of Latin American politics will continue to be chaotic.

ECONOMIC SITUATION

The 1980s has often been characterized as the lost decade for Latin America since development of the region in general decreased and real per capita income fell by ten percent. U.S. investment also declined. In 1985, U.S. investment amounted to 13 percent of all U.S. foreign investment compared to 38 percent in 1950.⁷ However there is a possibility of a bright future since Latin American countries are beginning to emerge from the deep recession.

President Bush's Enterprise for the Americas initiative is a step in the right direction. The goal of the initiative is to build the first fully free hemisphere in history. According to President Bush, the three pillars of the new initiative are trade, investment and debt reduction. To expand trade, he wants to create a hemisphere-wide free trade zone from Alaska to Argentina and adopt measures to create a new flow of capital into the region in order to stimulate investment.⁸

Latin American countries also are starting to change their state-dominated economies to free markets. According to the U.N. Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean (ECLAC), the region's economies grew by an average of three percent in 1991 which is impressive given the stagnation of recent years. The farthest along are Chile, Mexico and Venezuela. The most dramatic gains have been made in slowing the region's inflation. According to ECLAC, in 1990 Latin America suffered inflation of nearly 1,200 percent compared to around 200 percent in 1991. It is estimated that in 1992, the figure could drop to the double-digit range.⁹

The economic problems in Latin America are far from solved and there is much to be done. The OAS and IADB can help alleviate some of these problems, if financially supported by member nations as the United States, by sponsoring projects that provide nation assistance and improve a country's capability to carry out public functions and services.

REGIONAL CHALLENGES

Latin America has been relying more on the OAS and its role in the hemisphere is expanding. An OAS observer mission was sent to Nicaragua to monitor the 1990 elections. OAS observers also were used during the elections in Guyana and Suriname. In October 1991, the OAS voted to cut off oil and most other exports to Haiti as a means of reversing the military coup.

The United States remains a crucial factor affecting the ability of the OAS and the IADB to succeed. Unilateral actions like those in Grenada and Panama undermine the authority of the OAS in the region. In May 1989, the OAS condemned General Noriega. The United States, however, felt that the OAS did not go far enough because it failed to persuade Noriega to leave. Consequently, the United States attacked Panama and captured Noriega. The invasion was condemned by Latin America, and the OAS passed a resolution urging the withdrawal of U.S. troops from Panama. Bush's failure to consult with Latin leaders before the invasion called into question his sincerity about collaborating with Latin democratic leaders.¹⁰

A spirit of cooperation, until now restrained by misconceptions, abuse and distrust, is taking root in the hemisphere. Although the political and economic situation in Latin America is improving, there are still regional threats like narco-trafficking, arms trafficking, and insurgency that present a real challenge for the maintenance of regional stability. Even absent superpower competition, Latin America needs some sort of cooperative structure like the OAS and the IADB to

deal with the major challenges and solve problems within the region. The countries of Latin America are ready to use the regional approach. However, if the United States wants to foster regional cooperation, it should work at strengthening regional institutions rather than conducting business unilaterally and bilaterally. The United States appears to be heading in the right direction by letting the OAS take the lead in Haiti. The Inter-American System is in place and can offer solutions to regional problems if used.

AMERICAN SYSTEM

The time has come for the United States, Canada and Latin America to take a close look at the capabilities of the Inter-American System that has been established for the security and economic development of the hemisphere. This section defines the Inter-American System, briefly discusses the evolution of the Inter-American System and the Inter-American Military System and describes how the Inter-American Defense Board fits into the Inter-American System.

The Inter-American System can be defined as follows:

The Inter-American System is the sum total of organizations, legal instruments and current norms within the framework of the American Continent, established to meet the political, economic, social, and military requirements of the nations of

the Western Hemisphere.¹¹

The Inter-American System is composed of the following organs:

- The government of each member state
- The Organization of American States
- The Autonomous inter-American entities¹²

As described above, the Inter-American System can be many things. It consists of principles, purposes, objectives, treaties and agreements, as well as the organizations and agencies designed to implement them or bring them to fruition.

BACKGROUND

The Inter-American System can formally trace its origins to 1889 when then Secretary of State, James G. Blaine, invited the Latin American States to a Washington conference. The conference inaugurated a series of International Conferences of American States and established the first permanent international agency representing the American States. The International Union of American Republics was formed primarily to promote commerce and was the forerunner of the OAS. In 1910, its name was changed to the Pan American Union. During this time, the U.S. kept the peace in Latin America through intervention on a unilateral basis, straining inter-American cooperation. In 1933 with the inauguration of

Franklin D. Roosevelt, the tide began to turn. President Roosevelt announced the Good Neighbor Policy in which the U.S. pledged itself to the principle of non-intervention. By the beginning of World War II, the Inter-American System was comprised of the International Conferences of American States or commonly called the Pan American Conferences, Ministers of Foreign Affairs, the central bureau of the Union of American Republics, the Pan American Union, with its governing Board, various series of technical conferences and a number of other inter-American agencies.¹³

The outbreak of war in 1939 threatened Latin America with economic disaster as normal trade relations with Europe became increasingly impossible to maintain. The First Meeting of Consultation was held in Panama in October 1939 and considered problems relating to neutrality, the preservation of peace in the hemisphere and economic problems arising from the war in Europe. Among the important resolutions adopted was the General Declaration on the Neutrality of the American Republics which affirmed the position of neutrality with respect to the war in Europe. The Second Meeting of Consultation occurred in Havana in July 1940. This meeting addressed the colonial possessions in the Western Hemisphere should the Fascists win the war. The participants resolved that an attack on the part of a non-American state against any American state would be considered an attack on all the signatory nations. The Third Meeting of Consultation was held in response to the attack on Pearl Harbor and took place in Rio de Janeiro in January 1942. Hemisphere security and economic solidarity were

the major topics of discussion. A large number of resolutions were adopted at the meeting, including a resolution to establish a commission to recommend measures necessary for the defense of the Continent. The Inter-American Defense Board was created and was tasked to study and make recommendations for the defense of the Continent during World War II. The Board had its first meeting on 30 March 1942 in Washington, D.C.¹⁴

In 1944 the Dumbarton Oaks Proposals, which dealt with peaceful settlements of disputes, were agreed to by Britain, China, Russia, and the United States. The great powers did not intend to base postwar universal organization on regional organizations; however, the Proposals did leave a role for regional organizations to play in the pacific settlements of disputes. During the Chapultepec Conference in Mexico City in February-March 1945, there was extensive discussion of the Dumbarton Oaks Proposals. The delegates wanted to make sure that inter-American disputes were handled by regional organizations. During this conference, the Act of Chapultepec was approved. This Act for the first time provided for enforcement, and governments agreed that acts of aggression should be met by sanctions. This conference also authorized the IAOB to continue its functions. At the San Francisco Conference in April-June 1945, the Latin American nations succeeded in spelling out more fully the role of regional organizations in the Dumbarton Oaks Proposals.¹⁵

The Inter-American Treaty of Reciprocal Assistance (IATRA), commonly called the Rio Treaty, was signed in September 1947 at Rio de Janeiro. This

treaty was drafted to conform to the provisions of Article 51 of the United Nations Charter and declared, inter alia, that an armed attack by any state against any American state would be considered as an attack against all the American states. During the Ninth Conference in Bogota, Colombia in March-May 1948, the Charter of the Organization of American States was created. The OAS was provided with an Advisory Defense Committee. The functions of this Defense Committee, and a new status for the Inter-American Defense Board were delineated in the OAS Charter.¹⁶

INTER-AMERICAN MILITARY SYSTEM

The Inter-American Military System (IAMS) is part of the Inter-American System. According to John Child, no IAMS existed prior to World War II because the U.S. strategic approach to Latin America was basically unilateral with little concern for creation of a multilateral IAMS. The Good Neighbor Policy and World War II contributed to the creation of the IAMS since it was believed that the Axis posed a real threat to the hemisphere. However, the U.S. Navy and War Departments wanted to maintain special bilateral relationships with key countries. On the other hand, the U.S. State Department saw a need for a defense of the hemisphere which would be compatible with the multilateral approach of the Good Neighbor Policy. These opposing views were reconciled at the 1942 Third Meeting of Consultation where the State Department got its multilateral symbol of hemisphere military cooperation in the IADB.¹⁷

World War II gave birth to the IADB as the principle organ of the multilateral IAMS, although opposition by the U.S. Military Departments limited the IADB's role to recommending and advising. Other multilateral elements included the foundations of a collective security arrangement which were formalized in the IATRA. This Treaty turned the regional association into a regional security organization with security questions to be handled through an Organ of Consultation tentatively designated as the Meeting of Foreign Ministers. The Ninth Conference confirmed that the OAS Meetings of Foreign Ministers should exercise the functions of the Organ of Consultation referred to in the IATRA, continued the Inter-American Defense Board and provided for an Advisory Defense Committee to assist the Meetings of Foreign Ministers in the performance of their security functions.¹⁸

While the IATRA established the political framework for collective security, there was no military means of implementation. The Treaty, however, does contain the philosophical basis for an alliance. Article 3, paragraph 4 of the Treaty indicates that the American nations may take measures for self-defense as long as the United Nations Security Council does not take the measures necessary to maintain international peace and security. Article 8 of the Treaty also provides for the use of armed force as a possible enforcement measure.¹⁹ However, there is no provision for the establishment, control or exercise of this force, making the IATRA weaker than the North American Treaty. Possibly there was a reluctance on the part of the Latin Americans to place such a powerful legal instrument for

intervention at the disposal of the U.S.²⁰

STATUS OF THE INTER-AMERICAN DEFENSE BOARD

The permanent superior organs of execution within the Inter-American System are as follows:

- Political: The Permanent Council of the OAS
- Economic and social: The Inter-American Economic and Social Council, the Inter-American Council for Education, Science and Culture
- Military: The Inter-American Defense Board²¹

The Organization of American States includes a number of agencies which do not have the status of specialized organizations (Figure 1). One of the agencies is the IADB. The OAS deals with the political, social, economic and security matters, and the IADB, when requested by the OAS, advises on the collective defense of

the Western Hemisphere and on military matters.

The status of the IADB with respect to the OAS is ambiguous. The Ninth International Conference of American States in 1948 recommended that the IADB continue to exist, but that it should not be mentioned in the OAS Charter. During this Conference there were two conflicting points of view. Argentina supported the view that the military agency should not be established by the OAS Charter, but by a separate protocol to the reciprocal-assistance treaty. Other delegates believed that the establishment of a permanent military body within the Inter-American system was inconsistent with the peaceful traditions of the system. The compromise solution was to provide in the Charter for an Advisory Defense Committee and to adopt Resolution XXXIV which established the Inter-American Defense Board as part of the Inter-American system but not of the Organization of American States.

Although the IADB is not mentioned in the OAS Charter, the OAS funds the IADB. In addition to funding, the only other connection the IADB has to the OAS is through the Advisory Defense Committee, when activated. If the meeting of Consultation of Foreign Ministers activates the Advisory Defense Committee, then the Council of Delegates of the IADB acts as advisor to this Committee. Since the Advisory Defense Committee has never met in formal session, the IADB has never established a formal relationship with the OAS. This is probably due to the Ministers' fears of enhancing the power of the military as a political force in Latin American countries.²²

The IATRA formalized the collective security arrangement, but was weaker than the North American Treaty and was employed more as a politico-diplomatic instrument than as a military alliance. By including the Advisory Defense Committee, the OAS Charter included a military organ, however, it excluded the IADB from the formal OAS structure, a situation that can be interpreted as a reflection of Latin concern over a militarized OAS. The IADB was created outside the OAS Charter and is considered an independent inter-American agency and part of the Inter-American System due to its role of preparing for the collective defense of the hemisphere. It is the nearest thing to a permanent military agency, and it has a relationship to most American States and to the OAS.

THE INTER-AMERICAN DEFENSE BOARD

The IADB is an international organization in which all of the members of the OAS can be represented. It is the oldest permanent organ for military cooperation in continuous operation in the world. The Board's mission in accordance with Resolution XXXIV of the Bogota Conference, is to act as the organ of preparation and recommendation for the collective self-defense of the American Continent against aggression, and to carry out, in addition to the advisory functions within its competence, any similar functions ascribed to it by the Advisory Defense Committee of the OAS. Specific responsibilities include military planning for the

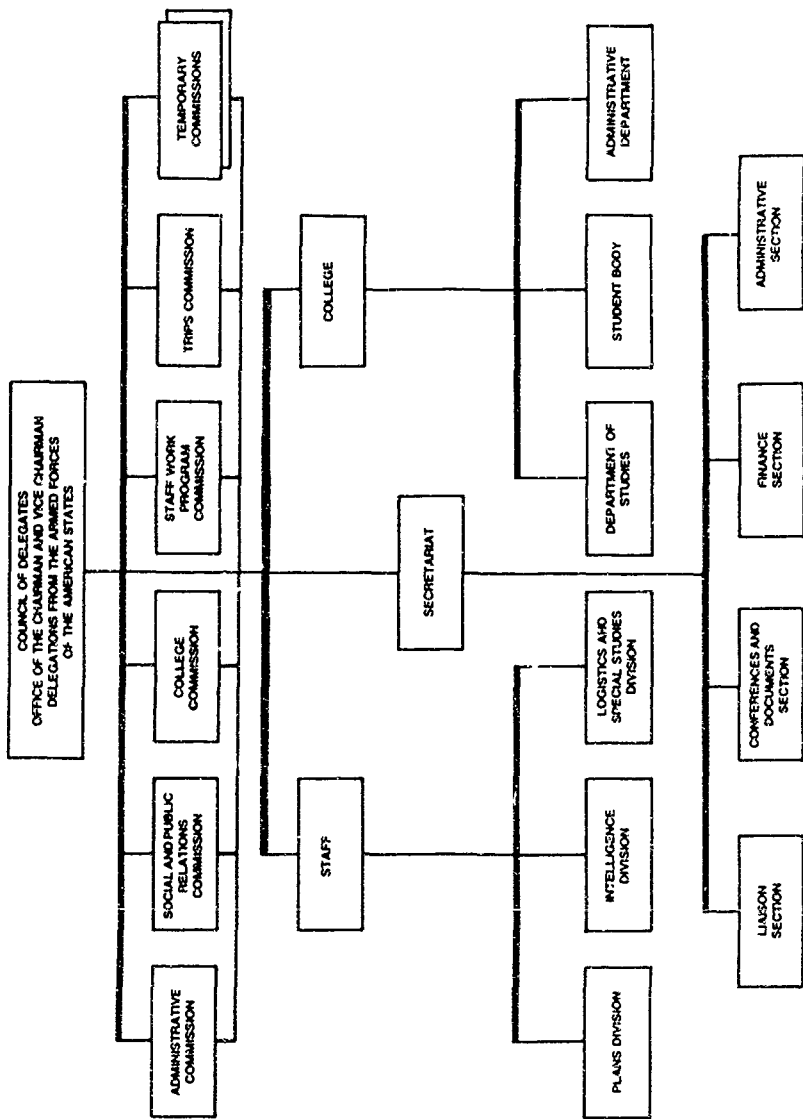
collective self-defense of the American Continent, and to perform advisory functions on collective self-defense when requested by the American governments.²³ In order to understand the IADB better, this section discusses the organization of the IADB, and also looks at its past and present roles.

ORGANIZATION

The Board accomplishes its mission through the following organs: the Office of the Chairman, the Council of Delegates, the Staff, the Secretariat and the Inter-American Defense College (IADC) (Figure 2). The official languages of the IADB are English, Spanish, Portuguese and French. Sessions of the Council of Delegates and all documents are published in these languages. To be a member of the IADB, a country has to be an American State, be a member of the OAS, request admission, receive the affirmative vote of at least two-thirds of the accredited delegations, and comply with IADB regulations. Cuba was excluded from the Board in 1962 since its actions were regarded as incompatible with the principles and objectives of the Inter-American System. Observer status may be granted to those States of the American continent that have not ratified the IATRA but have met the other requirements.²⁴

Office of the Chairman. The Chairman is a general officer, or equivalent, of the host country, presently the United States. He is appointed by his government to serve for whatever period it deems feasible. The Vice Chairman is selected by

INTER-AMERICAN DEFENSE BOARD



the Council of Delegates from one of the delegations accredited to the Board and will be a rank of General or equivalent (current Vice Chairman is from Bolivia). They provide the executive leadership of the Board and convoke and preside over the sessions of the Council of Delegates and assemblies of the Board. They also ensure that the Board is administered in accordance with the provisions of its regulations and authorizes its expenditures.²⁵

Council of Delegates. The Council of Delegates is the Board's decision-making body. It is composed of representatives from the 20 member states.²⁶ The Chairman and Vice Chairman of the Board also serve as Chairman and Vice Chairman of the Council of Delegates. The delegates are the official link between the IADB and the governments. Consequently, any issue requiring consideration and/or decision on either part has to be submitted through the delegates. Since the function of the IADB is limited to preparation and recommendation to the Governments of the American States, any action that might be taken on the recommendations can be taken only on the initiative of the respective states.²⁷

All decisions are approved according to parliamentary procedure and each delegation has one vote (no veto power exists). Decisions require the affirmative vote of two thirds of the delegations for approval. The Council of Delegates usually meets at least twice a month in Washington D.C. There are three permanent commissions which deal with matters concerning administration, social and public relations and the Inter-American Defense College. Temporary

commissions are formed as required.²⁸

An important aspect of the functioning of the Inter-American Defense Board within the Inter-American System is the relationship between the individual delegations and their respective governments since they are the link through which the results of the Board's labor is transmitted to the governments for consideration and action. Most delegations are located in the embassies of their respective governments in Washington, D.C. The majority of the delegates also are military attaches from their countries to the U.S.

Most Latin American Delegations receive their instructions from their Ministry of Defense, or Chief of the government's Armed Forces. In some cases instructions emanate from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the country's Ambassador to the Organization of the American States.

Although two of the delegates are exiles from their country and some Peruvian Generals are sent to the IADB to protect them from "Sendero Luminoso" hit teams, delegates generally have promising careers ahead of them. For example, the former Chief of the Argentine Delegation is now Chief of Naval Operations of the Argentine Navy, the former Chief of the Peruvian Delegation is now Foreign Minister of Peru and the former Chief of the Colombian Delegation was promoted to three stars and is the number two man in the Colombian Army.²⁹

The Staff. The staff, composed of between 15 and 20 Latin American and U.S. field grade officers, is the technical working body that supports and advises

the Council of Delegates and prepares plans and special studies. It is organized into three divisions: Plans, Intelligence, and Logistics and Special Studies. It gives lectures and briefings at the IADC and to other organizations and institutions with the approval of the Council of Delegates. Staff projects have included the role of the armed forces in economic and social development, communications, guerrilla and counter-guerrilla warfare, search and rescue, disaster preparedness, and peacekeeping. The Staff also produces a monthly information summary of events of interest that is distributed to Latin American senior officers.³⁰

The Secretariat. The Secretariat provides administrative, logistic and language support to the Board as well as to the Advisory Defense Committee of the OAS when activated. It is composed of military and civilian personnel of the American States and consists of a Secretary, a Vice Secretary and four functional sections. The four sections are the Liaison Section, the Conference and Documents Section, the Finance Section and the Administrative Section.³¹

The Inter-American Defense College. The College was founded in 1962 by action of the IADB Council of Delegates and is located at Fort McNair in Washington, D.C. The IADC is a Senior Service College dedicated to the education and development of selected military officers and civilian officials in the political, military, social and economic disciplines. The Director of the IADC, like the Chairman of the IADB, is a general officer or equivalent from the host country

The total quota for the IADC is 60 students. Each member nation of the IADB has a quota of three students. Each country can designate as many civilian students as military. Since 1962, approximately 1,300 students from 20 different countries have graduated from the College.³²

The IADC provides an opportunity for civilians and the military to share learning experiences, to exchange ideas and to develop a better inter-American understanding. This is very important in order to foster better civilian-military relationships and democratic principles in the hemisphere.

PAST ROLES

During World War II the IADB produced a series of resolutions and studies which described the ideal of military cooperation in the hemisphere. The principal impact of the Korean War on the IADB was the important expansion of its mission from a purely advisory one to an active planning one. The IADB drafted the "General Military Plan for the Defense of the Continent" which was approved by the IADB Council in November 1951 and accepted by the member states. In 1960 the Board approved a resolution which recommended that member governments consider using their armed forces in civic action projects. In 1962 the IADB produced a study on the conduct of guerrilla and counter guerrilla war, and also established the Inter-American Defense College. During this time, there was an effort by the U.S. State Department to strengthen the IADB and tighten its relationship to the OAS. This effort failed, however, due to lack of support from

the other member nations.³³

During the Cuban crisis, the IADB offered its services and military expertise to the OAS Organ of Consultation and urged the member states to use the Board in the crisis. The OAS Council took note of the offer and then ignored it. In December 1963, the IADB was asked to provide two technical advisers to travel to Venezuela and assist in the identification of a cache of Cuban weapons uncovered in Venezuela. The report concluded that the arms were of Cuban origin. This use of the IADB was significant in that it showed the Board's capability to respond quickly and effectively to a specific request for military expertise. In the Dominican Republic Crisis of 1965, the Board was directly involved in two occasions: It quickly prepared a technical-military report outlining the structure, organization and operation of an Inter-American Peace Force. When peace negotiations were conducted, the OAS Secretary-General requested the Board provide a military advisor to assist the Secretary's Special Commission for a period of one month in Santo Domingo. Officers assigned to the IADB were also utilized as observers in the Honduras - El Salvador crisis of 1969, in the Belize issue of 1972, and again in August 1976 during recurrent Honduras - El Salvador border incidents.³⁴

Although members of IADB were involved in the above operations, the OAS resisted requesting advice from the Board, refused to convoke the Advisory Defense Committee, and consistently created ad hoc groups of military observers. Attempts by the IADB to achieve a more significant role during this time were

resisted by the U.S. and Latin America. The U.S. military departments were reluctant to use the IADB since they did not want to loose U.S. control and preferred to handle crises unilaterally. Latin American political authorities were opposed to a permanent military agency because such an organization could become so powerful that one day it could be used for intervention within the hemisphere. A successful and effective Board also could raise the prestige and influence of the military within Latin American countries and strong leadership within the Board by the U.S. could provide the U.S. another avenue for intervention in Latin American affairs. Many of the Board's resolutions during this time were either irrelevant to the situation of the moment or untimely. The absence of any machinery for implementation of the Rio Treaty cast the United States in the role of hemisphere defense coordinator and made planning for a collective defense by the IADB very difficult. Despite these obstacles, the board achieved some accomplishments during this time. The IADC was established and the Board encouraged mutual understanding and camaraderie among the Latin military community. After the fall of the Soviet Union, the threats to the hemisphere have become internal rather than external and the Board now is attempting to change to meet those threats.

PRESENT ROLES

The IADB, just like all other military institutions throughout the world, is examining what its role is in today's changing world. The OAS remains skeptical of

military institutions like the IADB because of past tensions in Latin American countries between the militaries and civilian governments; however, that situation is slowly changing due to the democratization of most Latin American countries.³⁵

The IADB and IADC can contribute to the peace process and democratization in the region by exposing military officers to democratic ideas and by helping to develop personal relationships among the military officers of the hemisphere. The Board can play a significant role in conflict avoidance. For example, a close relationship developed between the Argentine and Chilean generals because they were co-workers in the IADB. Now when a military problem comes up between their countries, they feel confident that they can talk about it rather than fight about it.³⁶

Whether it is a function of personalities or the changing world situation, more informal interaction is occurring now between the OAS and the IADB than ever before. The IADB has established a weekly dialogue with the OAS and has been consulted informally on several occasions by the Secretary General. Of significance, in 1991 the Foreign Minister of Nicaragua requested the Secretary General send a team of experts from the IADB to recommend ways for clearing mines. Approximately 120,000 mines were laid by Sandinistas and Contras in Nicaragua and most of the locations of the mines are unknown. The team consisted of three Latin American and two U.S. mine clearing experts. Costa Rica, El Salvador and Honduras also are interested in having an IADB team visit their

countries to investigate the clearing of mines. The IADB wants to be the vehicle by which the OAS can establish a plan for clearing mines in Central America.³⁷

The IADB is approaching the OAS and briefing them on what it can do in assisting local authorities and the OAS in disaster preparation, and the fight against drugs. The Secretary General requested that a team from the IADB go to Grenada to look at the regional security system in Grenada for disaster preparedness. Since the Western Hemisphere has been and continues to be vulnerable to natural disasters, the IADB wants to get more involved in supporting disaster relief efforts. The Board approved a disaster relief manual in December 1991. This manual lists ways in which the military can effectively support national disaster relief efforts in the region. Additionally, the Chairman of the IADB is looking into developing an automated information system to catalog what is available in each country in the hemisphere for disaster relief support. Currently, there is no comprehensive place where this is found. The IADB wants to be able to have this information available in order to coordinate combined military responses to disaster relief efforts in the region.³⁸

The Foreign Ministers have requested that the OAS come up with a security requirement for the Americas by May 1992. The Group for Security of the Western Hemisphere is looking at the changing world and how it effects this hemisphere. This groups is investigating the possibility of making the IADB the its military advisor.

The IADB also has been responsive to the challenges presented by narco-

terrorism and narco-trafficking and has organized a Temporary Commission to see what the Board can do to combat these problems. Although not officially involved with the OAS Inter-American Drug Abuse Control Commission, this Temporary Commission is a step in the right direction and could demonstrate to the OAS that the IADB also has something to contribute in this area. The Board is being used more and more by member nations for getting things done unofficially in Washington, D.C. The IADB was involved indirectly in helping Argentina send three ships to the Gulf in support of Desert Storm; it also helped the Chileans send seven helicopters in support of Provide Comfort operations in Iraq.³⁹

The OAS now is starting to use the IADB more and is giving it a chance to prove itself. The Board is reorienting its thinking and activities to face the new threats. The world is changing and Desert Storm proved that coalitions can succeed. The test will be how quickly and professionally the Board delivers results to the OAS. Although the Board's structural organization does not appear to offer any obstacles to effective functioning, the Council of Delegates have been slow in approving IADB publications and resolutions in the past since most delegates have to get approval from their respective governments. If the OAS is impressed with the IADB study on the clearing of mines in Nicaragua, then the OAS will probably be more willing to give the IADB more operationally-related taskings in the future. The verdict is still out and the IADB cannot afford to fail during this period. The door is open and the Board has been given a second chance to prove itself.

CONCLUSION

Because of the changing political environment in the region and in the world and the different attitude that the U.S. is taking toward Latin America, the time may be right for the IADB to try other activities like peacekeeping, the peaceful settlement of disputes and civic action projects.

RECOMMENDED FUTURE ROLES

The IADB recently approved a peacekeeping manual which could be used in future OAS peacekeeping efforts. The IADB and IADC could become more involved in peacekeeping by developing training materials, conducting regional peacekeeping seminars, developing lessons learned from past peacekeeping efforts in the region and conducting peacekeeping training exercises. These programs could slowly establish a role for the IADB in this area without becoming threatening. Latin American nations have been reluctant to use the IADB in the peacekeeping role because they were afraid that it would be used to intervene in the hemisphere. Also, critics of an Inter-American Peace Force feared that the peace efforts would come under U.S. control. However, after Desert Storm and President Bush's pragmatic approach to Latin America affairs, this fear may be subsiding.

In addition to peacekeeping functions, the IADB could be involved in conflict prevention by monitoring areas of tension. The Board could implement a crisis early-warning center similar to the one which was recently set up in the United

Nations.⁴⁰ This center could alert the OAS to situations which it considers potentially threatening to peace in the hemisphere. With this information the OAS could take the initiative in dispute settlement before the situation gets out of hand.

Because of the possibility of increased nuclear and conventional weapons proliferation in the region, the IADB could develop a system for monitoring weapons received by the countries in the region. The IADB could establish a multilateral arms control group that could be used in controlling regional disputes by regulating technology transfers, particularly sales of sensitive and potentially destabilizing military technologies in the hemisphere. This group could indirectly promote cooperation among regional combatants by slowing the acquisition of new technologies and weapons which could discourage a future arms race and contribute to stability in the region.

The demand for international peacekeeping and observer forces is growing. It is important to recognize that some conflicts may not be amenable to resolution and that the best one can hope to do is to establish limits to the intensity of hostilities and the potential for escalation. There is little doubt that opportunities for new approaches to the peaceful settlement of regional conflicts are emerging as well as new roles for regional organizations in dispute settlement.

In order to have peace in the region, there needs to be economic development. The IADB could support economic development by coordinating, through the OAS, regional civic action projects like construction of highways, bridges, schools, and hospitals. The military because of its organization and

technical skills is often the only agency equipped and prepared to function in the economic and social development field. These types of projects, in addition to contributing to economic and social development, could help improve the standing of the military forces with the population.

The U.S. could help strengthen the IADB by doing business through the Board rather than operating unilaterally or bilaterally. This may have already started. The U.S. has let the OAS take the lead in Haiti and the U.S. Government has requested that the Chairman of the IADB conduct informal liaison with the delegates of the IADB to see if any of the member countries would take some of the Haitian refugees. Instead of the U.S. military conducting civic and humanitarian efforts on its own in Latin America, the United States could coordinate these projects through the IADB. This would enhance relationships between the countries contributing to projects and demonstrate to the host country that the U.S. is willing to work as a team member with its Latin neighbors. It would also help spread U.S. democratic ideals among the nations involved in the project without negative connotations.

In order to decrease the U.S. profile on the Board, key positions like the Chairman of the IADB and Director of the IADC could be rotated among the members of the IADB rather than keeping them under U.S. control. This change would have to be approved by the IADB Council since the IADB Charter would have to be modified. The IADB and IADC also might be moved to a Latin nation rather than keeping them in the U.S. This would be difficult and expensive since

all the buildings are now located in Washington D.C. It also would not be a good idea to separate the IADB and IADC from the OAS since it would probably discourage dialogue between the organizations.

The IADB appears to be going in the right direction and, as described above, there are numerous constructive projects the IADB can be involved in. However, there is still no machinery for implementing the Rio Treaty. In the event of a crisis, each state is free to determine the measures it will individually take. In order for the IADB to assume a credible role in peacekeeping and arms control, an Inter-American military defense system would have to be established. This would require extensive political changes and attitudes which may be slowly occurring now. The world is changing and the Board is changing with it and adjusting to the new challenges of the region, but it needs the support of the United States to be effective. The trend towards democracy and a more pragmatic approach towards economic and social issues in the region have created new opportunities for the OAS and the IADB to play a major role in ensuring peace and stability in the region.

SUMMARY

This paper has attempted to show that there is a variety of roles that the IADB can play in facilitating security cooperation and economic development in the region. These roles, to name a few, include peacekeeping, disaster relief, arms control and the fostering of better relations between military and civilian leaders. Although it does not appear that the formal status of the IADB in relation to the

OAS will change in the near future, the Secretary General of the OAS is informally approaching the IADB more and more and giving it practical things to do which is a step in the right direction.

In the past, some Latin American countries viewed the United States as an obstacle to the advancement of peace in the region. However, since the demise of the Soviet Union and the pragmatic approach of President Bush to Latin American problems, Latin American nations are beginning to look at the U.S. as less of a threat to their sovereignty and more willing to work out regional problems through the OAS. This also should strengthen the role of the OAS and IADB in the region since they will not be perceived as instruments of the U.S.

The Board has outlived its usefulness in its role as the preparer of studies and plans for the defense of the Hemisphere, but with the current and future roles described above, it might finally become a vital element of the Inter-American System. The Board has contributed to closer relationships between military and civilian and this role will probably increase in the future as the IADB and OAS work more closely together. These new activities will provide an opportunity for Latin American military personnel to gain a deeper appreciation of democratic ideals and encourage them to emulate the nonpolitical role of U.S. military personnel and to adopt a more professional attitude toward their careers. The potential contributions of the IADB to this new world order cannot be overlooked and should be exploited since the time is right, and the Board is prepared to serve. The present opportunity for putting the IADB on a sounder footing should not be lost.

ENDNOTES

1. Peter Hakim and Abraham F. Lowenthal. "Latin America's Fragile Democracies," Journal of Democracy (Summer 1991): 17.
2. Edward Cody. "Salvadorans Sign Accord Ending 12-Year War," The Washington Post (17 January 1992): A1.
3. Don Oberdorfer. "Cuban Missile Crisis More Volatile than Thought," The Washington Post (14 January 1992): A1.
4. William F. Leongrande. "From Reagan to Bush: The Transition in U.S. Policy Towards Central America," Journal of Latin American Studies (October 1990): 620
5. According to an IADB trip report of 26 November 1991, the Honduran military is nominally subordinate to civilian authority. The commander of the armed forces is selected by the armed forces who then selects a colonel to be Minister of Defense. Several Honduran officers stated that the armed forces are the "only ones able to discipline and organize the nation."
6. Hakim and Lowenthal, 21-22.
7. Jorge Swett. "U.S. Policies Toward Latin America: Much Room for Much Improvement," Naval War College Review (Spring 1990): 82.
8. George Bush. "Enterprise for the Americas Initiative," Current Policy No. 1288 (27 June 1990): 1-2.
9. Eugene Robinson. "Optimism Spreads as Inflation Falls in Latin America," The Washington Post (13 January 1992): A10.
10. Robert A. Pastor. "The Bush Administration and Latin America: The Pragmatic Style and the Regionalist Option," Journal of Interamerican Studies and World Affairs (Fall 1991): 18-26.
11. Inter-American Defense Board. Basic Elements of the Inter-American System for the Security and the Collective Self-Defense of the Continent Against Aggression, (November 1990): 3.
12. Ibid, 4.
13. Ronald L. Scheman. The Inter-American Dilemma: The Search for Inter-American Cooperation at the Centennial of the Inter-American System (Praeger Publishers, 1988): 2-3.

14. Roderick A. Stamey. The Inter-American Defense Board (Department of the Army, 1965): 19-22.
15. Margaret M. Ball. The OAS in Transition (Duke University Press, 1969): 19-25
16. Ibid, 26.
17. John Child. The Inter-American Military System: Historical Development, Current Status and Implications for U.S. Policy (Strategic Studies Institute, 1977). 4-7.
18. Gordon Connell-Smith. The Inter-American System (Oxford University Press, 1966): 190-197.
19. Basic Elements of the Inter-American System for the Security and the Collective Self-Defense of the Continent Against Aggression, 8.
20. John Child. Unequal Alliance: The Inter-American Military System 1938-1978 (Westview Press, 1980): 99.
21. Basic Elements of the Inter-American System, 6.
22. Ball, 384.
23. Basic Elements of the Inter-American System, 10.
24. Basic Elements of the Inter-American System, 2. In December 1991, the IADB Council of Delegates eliminated the Rio Treaty signatory requirement for IADB membership. This will permit OAS members such as Canada and the Anglophone Caribbean basin countries to join. The change also will permit Peru, which previously announced its intention to withdraw from the Treaty, to remain on the Board.
25. Inter-American Defense Board. Regulations of the Inter-American Defense Board (December 1987): 7-9.
26. The following countries are presently in the IADB: United States, Mexico, Guatemala, Nicaragua, El Salvador, Colombia, Ecuador, Honduras, Costa Rica, Panama, Peru, Bolivia, Chile, Haiti, Dominican Republic, Venezuela, Brazil, Paraguay, Uruguay, Argentina.
27. Ibid, 10.

28. Ibid, 14-15.

29. Interview with Major General Bernard Loeffke, Chairman of the IADB, Washington, D.C., 15 November 1991.

30. Regulations of the Inter-American Defense Board, 16-19.

31. Ibid, 20-22.

32. Ibid, 22-31.

33. Child, Unequal Alliance: The Inter-American Military System, 125-158.

34. Ibid, 171-174 and IADB Briefing.

35. Interview with Mr John Maisto, Deputy U.S. Ambassador to the OAS, Washington, D.C., 15 November 1991.

36. Interview with Major General Loeffke, Chairman of the IADB, 15 November 1991.

37. Ibid.

38. Ibid.

39. Ibid.

40. Fen Osler Hampson, "Building a Stable Peace: Opportunities and Limits to Security Cooperation in Third World Regional Conflicts," International Journal (Spring 1990): 462.

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